1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 These blood groups in actual life have even less formalism than that with which they have been described here. They cannot be considered sibs, inasmuch as they include relatives on both the male and female sides.

It thus appears that both relationships by birth (that is, relationship by blood) and by marriage are important factors in determining the constitution and stability of the settlement.

621 768 Conversely, the termination of either of these types of relationship by death or, in the case of marriage only, by divorce, may tend seriously to disrupt the settlement. In the first place, death in a house always means its abandonment, along with the clearing in which it is situated. On the map will be noticed several "old settlements" containing tumble-down houses smothered in vegetation. These are overgrown clearings abandoned on account of death. One represents the residence which Miller abandoned upon the death of his first wife. The other is the residential clearing of one Willie, a former resident of Sawari, who, on the death of his wife, married a woman in Kurewa and settled in the latter village. It will be remembered that John Cook joined Sawari settlement on the death of his first wife.

586 The divorce of Caroline from her former husband, MacDonald, removed both of them from their former village of Kwamata. The divorce of Joseph (David's son) from his Kwamata wife removed him from that settlement and added him to the population of Sawari.

TABLE A

621 582 BLOOD RELATIONSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN SAWARI SETTLEMENT

	Blood Group					
	Miller	Cook	David	Mary	Christina	Total
1. Number	29	7	7	8	2	52*
2. Marriages	10	4	3	2	1	12**
3. Marriages into other blood groups in Sawari	6	4	3	2	1	
4. Marriages into groups outside Sawari	2	0	0	0	0	
5. Intra-group marriages	2	0	0	0	0	

* Eight children can each trace relationship to two blood groups because they are offsprings of intergroup marriages.

** There are actually twelve marriages in force in Sawari at present (counting Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). In tabulating for each group the marriages involving its members, as in Row 2, the figures in some cases are duplicated because some of the marriages involved more than one group.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9-Carib SR9

viving members of the family would sing and dance at the grave 764
during the entire night after the burial, but there seem to be few observances of this kind nowadays. The only earthly possessions buried with the deceased are clothing and bodily ornaments. Bows, arrows, pottery, and so forth, are not buried with the dead, but are distributed among the relatives, sons taking precedence.

The house of the deceased, in the floor of which the grave has 768
been made, is deserted within two to three weeks following burial. The immediate clearing in which the house is located is also usually deserted. However, if the house is located in the midst of a cassava field, there is no restriction preventing the relatives from returning to gather cassava when needed.

The mourners, including all the relatives of the deceased who 765
are present, weep to show their grief. The chief mourner (the spouse or closest relative of the dead) refrains from work "until the sad thoughts pass away." The mourners, however, do not mutilate themselves, smear themselves with ashes or other unusual substances, don a special costume, nor assume other formal marks of mourning.

A fire is kept burning in the house for a moon after the burial, so that the ghost of the dead, lurking about the grave, will be provided with warmth at night. Food is also regularly left in the house for the ghost. Food offerings of this sort are frequently discovered to have completely disappeared the next morning when the mourners visit the grave. Actually, the disappearance is doubtless due to the depredations of insects and animals, but it is regarded by the natives as a sign that the ghost has been hungry and made a good meal. Strictly speaking, food and fire are supposed to be kept in the house until it falls down, because theoretically the ghost lives in its former dwelling until it is no longer habitable. But in actual practice, it is said that the attentions to the grave seldom continue for more than a month or so. The social [152]
motivations for grave offerings and for display of grief on the part of the chief mourner seem to be at least as strong as the religious. If a man, for instance, fails to follow the observances of mourning for a deceased wife, the latter's relatives will be angry with him and will accuse him of having killed her.

If it is believed that the deceased has met death at the hands of kanaimas, precautions are taken, as described in our section on

175 628 Upper Barama seem to have been more frequent than contacts among the Carib settlements in the upper section of the Upper Barama. However, it is also apparent that the most immediate external contacts each group of settlements had were with each other.

In 1932-33, the frequency of contacts seems to have been relative to distance. That is, no specialized settlements are reported in respect to seasonal or other activities. All Carib settlements seem 175 361 [82] to have been much alike in their dependence on the rain forest. The bush resources relied upon include predominantly territorial animals and widely dispersed plant species. Desirable land for cultivation, a mixture of sand and clay on a hillside in close proximity to a permanent stream, was limited (Gillin 1936:14). As a consequence, settlements are widely scattered. Figure 7 depicts the dispersed nature of Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area for this earlier time period. Realignments would occur with the relocation of settlements. After a number of years, a move might be made to more advantageous hunting and gathering and more fertile soil. Other cultural practices as well promoted this scattered, shifting pattern [586] of settlement. A divorce tended to result in the relocation of [572] individuals (Gillin 1936:79-80): the rupture of male friendships, in [775] the relocation of households (1936:136). Also, due to a belief in [768] the malevolent nature of a person's spirit, a clearing would be abandoned in the event of a death (Gillin 1936:165).

175 *177 361 Later, with the availability of external resources, settlements were no longer scattered solely along the Barama River corridor. Over time, a centralization of settlements developed in relationship

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

*177 a population of 114 and Baramita sixty-nine. These two settlements
361 also have mobile residents who have access to farms in still more
162 remote areas. The latter include thirty-five inhabitants.[10] In
[161] total, there were 551 Carib people in the Upper Barama River area in 1971.

*177 Increasingly, the practice of abandoning a house site in the case
• 768 of a death is being neglected. A cemetery some distance away is
[764] being used at the Air Strip. Several older graves around house sites are disregarded. Apparently, priorities of location override this tradition.

*177 Figure 11 shows the current settlement pattern. Both zone a and
361 b have permanent residents. Zone c residents also make use of farms in either zone a or b. There is little direct movement between zone a and b. The partial centralization of population initiated by the local mining economy has been completed. Within the existing nucleation, the center has been changed from the mine to the air strip. The remaining population has been drawn into this locus. In contrast to the limited opportunities available at the mine, some of the
[657] opportunities at the Air Strip are public. That is, they are available to all Caribs. These new resources are the clinic, the school,
[464] and agricultural assistance. However, very few employment opportuni-
[241] ties are available at Baramita Air Strip. Bush farms must be maintained and returned to in the case of the permanent workers who had left aside subsistance in the rain forest.

Consequently, a pattern of dual residence appears to be emerging in response to resource development. The local Carib population has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR SUBSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

*179 592 Although the resources for subsistence and the organization involved in exploiting them have changed, the household has remained the primary cooperative economic unit among the Upper Barama River [423] Carib population. There is no land tenure, no accumulation of capital [471] in any form, and no inheritance of any consequence. Thus, household [428] composition and the relationships among households have conformed to the immediate situations affecting the problem of subsistence.

Subsistence in the Rain Forest

175 592 For the 1932-33 period, Gillin reports that a household was composed of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. [737] These children include their own and ones that have been adopted. A relative from the older generation might be absorbed as a dependent. [584] Divorce or death could dissolve a household, the remaining members [768] joining existing households or forming new households with available [585] partners. There seems to have been universal marriage for everyone of reproductive age, making the household coterminous with the family (1936:80).

175 342 Households were settled in their cultivated fields. A house structure was commonly a pole frame covered with a roof thatched from various palm leaves. Dimensions varied from six to over thirty feet

175 cross cousins, brothers-in-law, and male cross cousins' sons. Again,
582 a particular male may fall into more than one of these relationships.
All strange males of approximately the same age are also included.

175 Thus, this kinship system is in keeping with the subsistence
605 organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs for the time period
602 before the introduction of external resources. Adult brothers as well
[476] as parallel cousins tended to render each other mutual assistance and
[593] thus live near each other. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage,
[582] these men tended to marry sisters or women who were parallel cousins
to each other. Thus, a child tended to grow up in the company of his
[768] parallel cousins, who were equated with his siblings. If his actual
[736] mother or father died or otherwise left, they would likely be replaced
by other individuals already in the child's horizon of interaction as
people in the categories of mother and father. Symmetrical cross-
[582] cousin marriage was extended to provide for the contingencies of re-
cruiting marriageable partners in a small population. With regard to
marriage with sister's daughter, this is not a separately designated
category. Rather this person is merged with a much larger category
of marriageable individuals.[8]

*177 The new organizational strategies are apparent in changes in the
601 kinship system. The discontinuation of mutual assistance among men
[476] who are brothers or parallel cousins and a greater longevity of
people have change elements of this system. In the first ascending
generation, father and father's brother and mother and mother's
sister are all separately designated. Previously, father and father's
brother were one identity. Mother and mother's sister were also
merged as one category.